1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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Fox-Strangeways; the late Mr. Eustace of the Tanganyika Agricultural Department, and Mrs. Eustace; the Rev. and Mrs. Marx of the Moravian mission at Rungwe; the Rev. and Mrs. Faulds of the Church of Scotland mission at Karonga; the Rev. and Mrs. Galbraith of Livingstonia; Mr. Godfried Schuler, a planter, and his wife; and the Officers of the King's African Rifles then stationed at Másoko.

When planning work among the Nyakyusa, we were guided by Lord Lugard, who had lively recollections of 'the north-enders', and by the Rev. D. R. and Mrs. MacKenzie, missionaries of the Church of Scotland in the area for many years. Mr. MacKenzie had published *The Spirit-Ridden Konde* in 1925, and was deeply interested in the Nyakyusa-Ngonde people; he lent us manuscript notes on the language and gave us the most generous encouragement.

Godfrey Wilson was concerned to make a general sociological study of the Nyakyusa, while I had been commissioned by the International African Institute to study particularly the effects of Christian missions on the community; in practice we found it profitable each to work primarily with our own sex, though we did not do so exclusively. Nyakyusa men proved better informants than women, largely, we think, because the men all had a training in logic, gained in discussion in the villages and in court. Women lacked this training and, except for doctors and those who had had some schooling, they found it difficult to give an account of their customs. The pagan women were markedly less coherent than conservative Pondo women (among whom I had previously worked[1]), a difference which I attribute to the narrow scope for leadership among the women in the traditional Nyakyusa society. And the difference between conservative pagan Nyakyusa women (doctors excepted) and Christians who had had some schooling was very noticeable.

Material on pagan and Christian, as well as that on men and women, overlapped at every point; and shortly after leaving the field we agreed that to describe pagan and Christian groups separately would distort the facts very seriously, and that we would collaborate in writing three books on Nyakyusa kinship, Nyakyusa villages, and Nyakyusa chiefdoms, including in each of

[1] Monica Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest: Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa* (1936).

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

them an analysis of pagan and Christian differences. Godfrey Wilson died on active service before the writing of these books was begun, and I am thus solely responsible for the form of this volume, but the material is from the field notes of us both. Portions of Chapter I, and a few paragraphs in other chapters have been quoted (with minor emendations) from articles already published by him. Throughout the book the present tense refers to the period 1934–8 when the material was collected.

The problem of combining adequate documentation with lucidity has not yet been solved in anthropology: either monographs are so loaded with texts and case records as to be almost unreadable, or else they are impressionistic, and the student is left wondering just what evidence there is for the author's conclusions. We have attempted to meet this difficulty by publishing certain relevant documents in a separate section. These documents represent only a small selection of the field notes used, but at least they illustrate the type of evidence on which our argument is based. Many of them are translations of texts written in Nyakyusa by Mwaisumu and Mwaikambo from their own knowledge, or at the dictation of others.

The maps have been drawn by my friend and colleague at Rhodes University College, Professor J. V. L. Rennie, to whom I am much indebted for the time and trouble he has lavished on them. The map of Rungwe District is based on one compiled by Mr. R. de Z. Hall, and traced by Mr. G. D. Arthur, which was given me by the courtesy of the Survey Department of Tanganyika.

Finally, I am indebted to Dr. Audrey Richards, Professor Meyer Fortes, and Professor Dover Wilson for reading this manuscript and making many valuable suggestions.

Rhodes University College,
Grahamstown, 1949.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

THE field material on which this study was based was collected under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation and the International African Institute.

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN1
Nyakyusa

By the same author:

Reaction to Conquest

The Analysis of Social Change (with Godfrey Wilson)

Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages

● 122

The publication of this study was made possible by funds granted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. That Corporation is not, however, to be understood as approving any of the statements made or views expressed therein.

[p. ii]

[p. i contains no textual material]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

114
122
THE material presented here was collected by Godfrey and Monica Wilson under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation and the International African Institute between 1934 and 1938. For leisure to complete the writing, and to revisit the Nyakyusa in 1955, I am indebted to the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the University of Cape Town.

MONICA WILSON

School of African Studies
University of Cape Town

[p. vii]

[p. viii is blank]

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

000 This, the third Rhodes-Livingstone Paper, is a description of the traditional political constitution of a Bantu tribe in the extreme north of Nyasaland, and of the profound changes which modern conditions have made in that constitution. The most important of the changes are inevitable, given the general conditions of contact between Africans and Europeans in Central Africa; and this brings us to a realization of the inescapable limits within which any policy of Indirect Rule must be carried out. But all the changes are also dependent in detail upon local conditions and upon the decisions of the Government and the present Native rulers.

The general picture presented can be paralleled in many parts of Central Africa. Here is a recently primitive people whose life was lived within very narrow horizons of space, whose religion combined faith in the powers of dead ancestors with magic and witchcraft, who practised subsistence agriculture and pastoralism but had slight external economic contacts also; whose judical institutions were decentralized and among whom civil war was endemic, but who possessed a paramount chief round whom the whole district rallied for tribal ritual and war. Today it is part of a world civilization, half its members are Christians, many grow crops for export or work for Europeans digging gold, while tribal and civil wars have been effectively stopped and judical procedure has been centralized. Through these changes a certain continuity is apparent, in the constitutional sphere, but a very much slighter one than writers on Africa usually assume.

122 Acknowledgments are due the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and to the Rockefeller Foundation, under whose joint auspices my wife and I collected the material here published, and also to Dr. Max Gluckman, whose critical comments on the first draft of this paper particularly assisted me in bringing out the local autonomy in primitive Ngonde.

GODFREY WILSON,
Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

Livingstone,
Northern Rhodesia,
September, 1939.

[p. 5]

8:Wilson E-5 (1934-1936)1936 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

AN INTRODUCTION TO NYAKYUSA SOCIETY

By GODFREY WILSON

128 This paper is an attempt to give an outline of the pagan culture of the Nyakyusa people of South Tanganyika[1] in relation to the three fundamental groups into which their society is articulated—the family, the age-village and the chiefdom. Every Nyakyusa belongs to some family, to some age-village, to some chiefdom; and in his membership of these three groups is comprehended most of his behaviour.

121 Sociology is the objective study of human relationships which, as they only exist in men's activities, can only there be studied. The systematic investigation of culture, of the common economic, ceremonial, legal, religious and other activities which obtain among some group of people, is the sole possible method of discovering the system of human relationships which makes of the group a society. It is only by viewing all the facts of culture in the light of the relationships of the people concerned that we can see the full objective significance of those facts, it is only so that we can see the body or actuality of those relationships. For human relationships are the most inclusive facts of social life, they are the form[2] which the sociologist seeks for in the matter of his special field; whether he is engaged in description, or in the functional analysis of a single culture, or in the comparative analysis of several cultures, human relationships are always his goal, which he must reach if his account of fact is to be coherent, if his explanations are to be complete.

The method adopted in this paper is that of Professor Malinowski and his followers; it involves a repudiation of the one-sided Durkheimian concept of "social integration" or "solidarity," and a realization that culture, consisting as it does of human behaviour with a human meaning, has a material reality which makes possible and conditions the human relationships that integrate it and give it form. This point is elaborated in the concluding section.

128 In order to make Nyakyusa society into a wholly lucid unit, intelligibly comparable with other societies, it would be necessary to undertake a complete functional analysis, and to explain in detail why it is that different members of this group on different occasions generally conform,

[122]

[1] I am greatly indebted to the Rockefeller Foundation for the Fellowship which makes my investigation possible.

[2] By "form" is meant, not a sensible pattern, but an intelligible system of fact.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

THE material presented here was collected by Godfrey and Monica Wilson under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation and the International African Institute between 1934 and 1938, and with the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1955. Publication has been made possible by grants from the University of Cape Town and the International African Institute.

That the book could never have been written without the co-operation of very many friends will be obvious to readers. I wish, however, to thank particularly the chief Coloneli Makan'ata of Ilolo for generous hospitality and help, Mr. John Mwaikambo of Igalamu for friendship and able assistance over more than twenty years, the men and women of Lupata and Ilolo, the missionaries of Rungwe, and Mr. and Mrs. Peter Johnston of Tukuyu who received a stranger so charitably in their homes. Professor Dover Wilson has given himself unsparingly to make the reader's task less difficult and turn the barbarisms of an anthropologist into English.

13:Lehmann E-5 (1939) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

Some Field Notes on the Nyakyusa

(Tukuyu District, Tanganyika Territory)

By F. Rudolf Lehmann

The following field notes on the Nyakyusa (Wanyakyusa, Wanyakjussa) represent only a small part of what I wrote down during my residence of about three months among this people in the summer of 1939. The present selected notes refer only to my sojourn in the village of Katumba near Masoko, with an ethnic group of the Nyakyusa who call themselves „Wa-Masoko"[1]. Notwithstanding the short time I had

[1] Cf. R. Thurnwald, p. 65; G. Wilson, Land Rights, p. 35.

13: Lehmann E-5 (1939)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

for research, I am very grateful for a grant from the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures[2] which enabled me to start my ethnographical field work among these people. I wish also to express my thanks to the Government of the Tanganyika Territory, the Provincial Commissioner of Mbeya, and the District Officer of Tukuyu for all the courtesy I received during my work.

1. My first step, after my arrival at Katumba near Masoko, was to pay a visit to Mwamasika, the chief *(omalafyale)*[3] of the village and

The chief Wwamasika with his councillors.

of those adjacent. On the open place near his hut he welcomed me in company with his *amafumu*[4], the influential men of his villages. My attendant, the interpreter and I were asked to sit on chairs, while the *amafumu* sat down on mats or on large banana leaves on the ground; but the chief remained standing. I explained the aim of my visit, and that I would be very glad of his support. The chief promised it, and he kept his promise excellently. On other occasions the chief also sat on a chair. In the afternoon of the first day I sent to the chief some presents. The following he made a return in form of food. This exchange of gifts is named *ukubonola*, handing over the gift.

2. In a small village belonging to Mwamasika's chieftainship was the residence of a medicine man, to whom I paid a visit as soon as I could. When I met him he was being consulted by a sick male person who had a stomach complaint *(agaju)*. After some negotiations he allowed me

[2] Cf. Africa. Vol. XI, p. 497.
[3] Cf. Wilson, Introduction, p. 283; Land Rights, p. 44.
[4] Cf. Wilson, Land Rights, p. 13. W. translates *alifumu (olifumu)* by „great commoner", Introduction, p. 276, 282.